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ABSTRACT

The article describes how folk educational programs in the United States and in the Scandinavian countries work toward behavioral and social change efforts. The conditions under which collective change efforts create their own educational programs, the most effective pedagogical processes, and the variables associated with successful attempts to join folk colleges to social and ethnic movements are examined. Conditions for change are described as occurring when discontented people seek to solve problems through mobilization and the creation of movement organizations. Although size is not a key consideration, the way that restraints (e.g. economic-political, ethno-cultural, or religious) are identified and the articulation of realistic goals are crucial elements. Pedagogical processes at folk colleges are assessed according to three orientations: the poetic-historic (idealistic and spiritual), the rational-pragmatic (literacy, numerical, and organizational skills), and the ideological-confrontational (militancy and struggle). Conclusions are that the most effective movement-education programs are found either in mass reformist movements seeking to extend democratic participation and secure folk political dominance or in elite movements seeking to defend traditional rights. A paradigm of social groups illustrates how key characteristics of size and power can be used to classify social and ethnic movements and thus indicate their potential for mounting educational programs with some promise of accomplishing movement objectives. Movements and folk high schools of the Swedish-Lapps, the Swede-Finns, U.S. Danes, the Norwegians, and the pre-World War II American labor colleges are cited. (KC)

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EDUCATION AS ANTI-STRUCTURE: NON-FORMAL EDUCATION IN SOCIAL AND ETHNIC MOVEMENTS

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> Lawyers, doctors, bankers, the clergy, we saw them as almost another species of men, a priesthood commanding secrets and speaking them in terms unknown to us ignorant and bewildered mass.[1]

The case studies reviewed in this article indicate how a variety of Scandinavian and North American social and ethnic movements have sought to use residential folk-education for young adults in behavioral and social-change efforts.[2] We should first note the neglect of this movement education as educational phenomena and, accordingly, the absence of analysis as to its significance. In this review of findings, we will make a first step in addressing this lacuna.

The need to generalize on the experiences of movement-controlled educational programs may be viewed in light of both theory and practice. In regard to the former, we have yet to see the need for a truly comprehensive model, or theory of educational change, recognized, let alone specifically addressed. While the elaboration of a rationale and specification of some major components of such a theory is far beyond our means here, we might well observe that our questions and findings should be of value to at least one cell, i.e., autonomous NFE programs, in any such framework.[3] For if

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[1] J. Cary. Except the Lord. (London: Michael Joseph, 1953), p. 287.

[2] This project, supported by the Nordic Folk High School Council, the Swedish Council, the Scandinavian Seminar, and the University of Pittsburgh's University Center for International Studies, examined non-formal or non-school educational programs in the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish folk movements, in the Lapp and Swede-Finn Movements, in the U. S. labor and civil-rights movements, and in the Danish-American Cultural Movement. A final project report, Other Dreams, Other Schools: Folk Colleges in Social and Ethnic Movements, will be published in 1980 by the University of Pittsburgh's University Center for International Studies.

[3] For speculative work discussing aspects of the need for such a unified general theory, see my study, "Social and Educational Change: Conceptual Frameworks." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 21, Nos. 2 and 3, (June and October 1977), pp. 370-395; and Chapter 5, "Towards a Theory of Educational Change," in P. Dalin. Limits to Educational Change. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), pp. 77-94.

we are to explain educational change systematically and comprehensively, we must be able to account for such phenomena in all parts of any country's educational complex. Where researchers have to date largely focused on educational change--or the lack of it--in formal schools and in "top-down" non-formal education programs, I have chosen here to examine the grass-roots or from the "bottom up" type of education and how it has been created and used with greater or lesser effectiveness by collective change efforts in a variety of settings.[4]

Accordingly, we can show where our findings might be most useful to the elaboration of theory, to the accumulation of logically interdependent generalized concepts and propositions with empirical referents. Working both inductively and deductively, students of educational change and policy studies will, no doubt, pay increasing attention to this need in the years to come. And in such an undertaking, theoretically grounded empirical and historical work, as reviewed here, will be of the greatest utility.

Our findings should also be useful to inform educational decision-making and practice. The Scandinavian folk high schools are periodically rediscovered and heralded as a panacea for social and educational

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[4]For a discussion of the various components of any nation's national learning complex, i.e., the formal-school system, and the non-formal, informal, and international sectors, see my book, Non-Formal Education. (New York: Praeger Special Studies in International Economics and Development, 1972), pp. ix-xvi.

problems.[5] In this genre, the folk high schools are often viewed as educational solutions to a variety of social problems without recognizing how the problems can also be seen as, for example, consequences of structured inequality or without understanding the conditions that made early folk-college efforts seeking quite different goals more or less successful. But as the findings here demonstrate, it is not just education, but the mobilization of people around structural binds and realistic dreams that changes societies and, at best, education can do no more than facilitate this process. And those community, municipal, and provincial folk colleges outside of movements--i.e., the vast majority--as with all of formal and adult education outside movements will always tend to reinforce the status quo of existing relations. These findings will, accordingly, pose something of a dilemma for politicians and educational planners. To be truly effective for significant social change, non-formal education would seem to require

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[5] Examples of Americans proposing folk high schools as an adult-education model have proliferated with contacts between American educators and Scandinavian folk high schools. Perhaps the best example remains Joseph K. Hart's Light from the North: The Danish Folk High Schools, Their Meanings for America. (New York: Henry Holt, 1926). For more recent efforts to "sell" folk colleges to Americans, see K. E. Parke, Norway's Folk High Schools: Report of a Sabbatical Experience. (Albany: SUNY, 1963); Robert E. Belding, "Danish Industry and the Updated Folk High School," Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. 46, No. 8 (April 1965), pp. 400-401; and Eric Mortensen, "A Futuristic Look at the Nordic Folk High School," Teachers College Record, Vol. 77, No. 4 (May 1976), pp. 495-504. For the most recent example, see Enock Mortensen, Schools for Life: The Gruntvigian Folk High Schools in America. (Askov, Minn.: American Publishing Company, 1977). 143 p. Enok Mortensen taught at three of these schools and served as a pastor for Danish-American congregations. He argues that the attempt to transplant folk schools from Denmark to America was less a failure than might appear on the surface. The schools provided education for thousands of Danish immigrants and persons of Danish descent; and the folk-school concept helped American educators to establish some special schools which function today, where the emphasis is on democracy, human dignity, and personal development rather than concern for grades and diplomas. Mortensen also maintains that the folk schools' basic ideas, if adapted to the American cultural setting, have much to offer the United States.

a dynamic social-movement context and movement control. It seems to flourish best when autonomous and when it seeks concrete reformist goals that do not radically transcend the tolerance parameters in any given society, goals such as the right to vote, to collectively bargain, to survive as an ethnic group, to live one's religious beliefs.

Most likely, it will not be the planners but the future social-movement educators, the likes of John Lewis, Myles Horton, George Wiley, Saul Alinski, César Chávez, Martin Luther King, Betty Freidan, and their ilk, who in the United States will be best able to draw lessons to inform practice from this study. Although they will quite likely remain few in number, like all effective movement educators, they will benefit from "useful" theory, from explanations, as attempted here, of why and how new learning can lead to new awareness, new goals, and altered behavior within the context of group mobilization, solidarity, and organized struggle.

ORIGINS OF MOVEMENT EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

Against this background, I would like to propose some tentative conclusions drawn from the nine case studies, to the three questions that shape the work: (1) Under what conditions do collective change efforts create their own educational programs? (2) What pedagogical processes have been most effective? and (3) What are the key variables associated with more or less successful attempts to wed folk colleges to social and ethnic movement change efforts?

Then we will briefly examine how some of the findings have implications for future social and educational policy in Scandinavia and North America, and for more comprehensive and compelling explanations, or theory, of why and how education can contribute to social and ethnic movements seeking more equitable social and economic relations.

The "under what conditions" question has been largely avoided in previous research on folk-college origins. Earlier case studies have been

descriptive and have not sought to support generalization based upon evidence. With the present comparative study, we have for the first time a collection of case studies chosen to facilitate generalization, albeit tentative and preliminary, concerning folk-college origins, processes, and contributions.

In any reconceptualization of educational-change phenomena, as with the notion of "non-formal education" or "social movement education," it is necessary to first specify the scope of the phenomena (i.e., folk colleges in change efforts), develop some rough categories of the phenomena, and then begin to account for variation between categories by noting differences in key characteristics.

In this process of creating typologies or classificatory schemata, data are categorized and presented so as to show how a particular choice of key variables, or dimensions, will produce a matrix of parameters, categories, and relations. If we apply this process to the "fighting" folk colleges as examined in our case data, they can be sorted out as in Figure 1 below. Because most movements are concerned with a number of binds, and because their goals usually change over time, this sort of categorization is, at best, only suggestive. It should help nevertheless to facilitate description and explanation of key factors associated with the creation of movement folk colleges. We should also take note that different groups involved in the same social-movement education effort often articulate quite different and sometimes contradictory binds, or perceptions of discrepancy between "the way it is" and "the way it ought to be." Grundtvig and his professional followers, for example, spoke of ethno-cultural, nationalistic, and religious binds. Rural people, however, used the FHS founded by the Grundtvigians for their own quite different purposes--i.e., to increase their limited economic and political participation in national life. In a similar way, many working-class youth attending U. S. labor colleges in the 1920's

FIGURE 1

A CLASSIFICATION OF SCANDINAVIAN AND NORTH AMERICAN MOVEMENT FOLK COLLEGES

Structural Bind Articulated ↓ / Stated Manifest Movement Objectives →	Separatist	Reformist	Transformative
Economic-Political		Highlander Folk School, and most Swedish and Danish Movement FHS Schools MAJ (+)	Work Peoples' College, Brookwood, and Commonwealth M (-)
Ethno-Cultural	Swede-Finn Folk Colleges MEL (+) Lapp Folk High School MIND (-)	Most Norwegian Movement FHS Schools MAJ (+)	
Religious	Danish Folk High Schools in America M(-)		

KEY:

MAJ = Majority movement context

MIN = Minority movement context

MEL = Minority, elite movement context

MIND = Minority, indigenous movement context

+ = relatively successful

- = relatively unsuccessful

and 1930's acknowledged the bind articulated by labor-college educators and intellectuals--i. e., the exploitation of workers and the goal of a worker's society, while seeking increased economic participation and careers within the existing society. Here we have been limited in the identification of structural binds to those presented in movement publications. Future research is needed on how movement leaders, adherents, and students as well articulate the binds that they perceive and how differences might influence educational processes and outcomes.

Given these limitations, Figure 1 does allow us, nevertheless, to pattern types of folk colleges as movement organizations addressing latent social or ethnic movement functions. These largely non-formal educational programs are created when discontented people seek to solve problems through mobilizationand the creation of movement organizations, such as schools, and the specification of an alternative problem formulation that offers hope of success.

We should note that while movement size is not a key consideration in the creation of movement educational programs, the way binds are identified and the articulation of realistic goals seems to be crucial. It makes little sense to attempt movement education in a struggle where the odds are overwhelming or where occasional progress towards goals cannot be won. Where the opposition is seemingly all-powerful, as with, for example, the American Anti-War Movement, there was little structured movement education after the early instructional "sit-ins." Rather, some movement activists turned to violent opposition, while the majority of sympathizers became increasingly alienated from a society they dispaired of changing.

Another necessary if not sufficient condition for the founding of movement folk colleges is the tolerance of established authority. Clearly, movement education cannot exist without the existence of a movement with its supportive organizations. And social movements are only tolerated when

their potential threat to the status quo is in some degree acceptable to those in control of the polity, the military, the courts, and the police. As may be noted, the Scandinavian and North American cases examined here all occurred in liberal-conservative democratic settings with some tradition of a "loyal opposition." In each case, the movements' size and degree of "deviance" from the national value consensus, or national ideology, considerably influenced the ease with which movement-education programs were created, supported, and used to help secure social changes. As a very small and weak ethnic minority, the Swedish Lapps, for example, still struggle for the resources and state approval needed to develop their own Same Movement folk high school. In contrast, the Swede-Finns in Finland, another minority group, with control of land and wealth, developed their movement folk high schools as the need arose in a successful struggle for political power, constitutional recognition, and ethnic survival.[6]

In a third separatist-oriented case, the Danes, in a missionary effort, provided leadership and resources for Danish cultural survival in the United States, and U. S. groups placed no restrictions on the movement's folk-college efforts. The impetus here came largely from abroad, and the bind it addressed--i.e., the need to remain Danish in religion and culture also came from abroad and was not shared by many young Danes in the New World.

In Scandinavia, folk, or popular, movements by and large represented the interests of the vast majority of farmers and workers. This largely disenfranchized majority (before World War I) sought to build democratic egalitarian societies where none would starve or be forced to emigrate for lack of opportunity or human dignity. During the late 19th and early 20th Centuries, this majority created within the folk sector their own folk

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[6]See my "Ethnic Revival and Educational Conflict in Swedish Lapland," Comparative Education Review, Vol. 20, No. 2 (June 1976); and "Separate Education as an Ethnic Revival Strategy: The Finlandssvenska Case," Anthropology and Education Quarterly, Vol. 8, No. 3 (August 1977).

institutions more or less organized on democratic and egalitarian principles. In contrast to the elitist state church, for example, the folk free-church movement created autonomous fundamentalist churches. Folk-language movements developed, extended, and legitimized popular alternatives to elite culture and language. The producer-cooperative movement provided a successful democratic folk alternative to the traditional middle-class middleman and the commercial elite. The temperance movement, often in collaboration with the Free Church Movement, sought to combat the pervasive problem of alcoholism among farmers and workers, a problem that tended to undermine the entire folk movement and the working class in general. In sum, all of the various streams that made up Scandinavian folk movements developed their own egalitarian "high schools" and folk-education programs for young adults. Thus, the popular movements were able to prepare their leadership in their own schools imbued with their own goals and ideology. The contrast with Britain, for example, where bright working-class boys would attend public schools and Oxbridge with scholarships and return as leaders for the labor movement is complete.

In Scandinavia, all movement folk high schools have received some state support, and this income has undoubtedly enhanced their survival. Regular grants have also tended to mute the formulation and articulation of a more radical ideology of discontent and of partisan struggle. Even the socialist-oriented labor folk colleges founded in the early 1900's, after some initial conservative opposition in parliaments, managed to secure continuing government grants. The conservatives' rationale for supporting socialist folk colleges sought to limit the political nature of these schools, and to provide a place where working-class youth could receive some post-primary schooling without their making demands for the reform of and access to elite-oriented secondary and higher education. Conservative and Liberal politicians were successful on both counts, and Scandinavian folk colleges

have only rarely become highly political or disruptive. When the movement is a small ethnic minority, however, as in the Swedish Same, or Lapp, case, the majority--even if they are now Social Democrats, see no obligation to help provide alternative movement schools. Now the State denies what conservatives earlier allowed and requires all students to attend common schools seeking acculturative and egalitarian outcomes.

Assessing Pedagogical Processes

In addressing the question, "What pedagogical processes have been most effective?" we should take note of the difficulty in answering this query in any but the most general manner. The connection between instruction and subsequent behavior is much studied, but little understood. And on the basis of the case-study material, I cannot hope to do more than suggest some of the major types and some of the characteristics of effective pedagody, where "effectiveness" is viewed as securing and supporting active commitment to movement-goal attainment.

When one compares pedagogical orientation and processes in the typical Scandinavian folk-movement schools and in the American labor-movement folk colleges, several modal types seem to be present.[7] One way of presending these differences in pedagogical type is presented in Figure 2 following. Folk colleges would, depending on changes in movement needs and goals and in corresponding movement-education activities, have to be located at different points at different times. And, of course, all three major orientations, i.e., the Poetic-Historical, the Rational-Pragmatic, and the Ideological-Confrontational, have been present to some extent at various times in all folk-college educational activities. The three orientations

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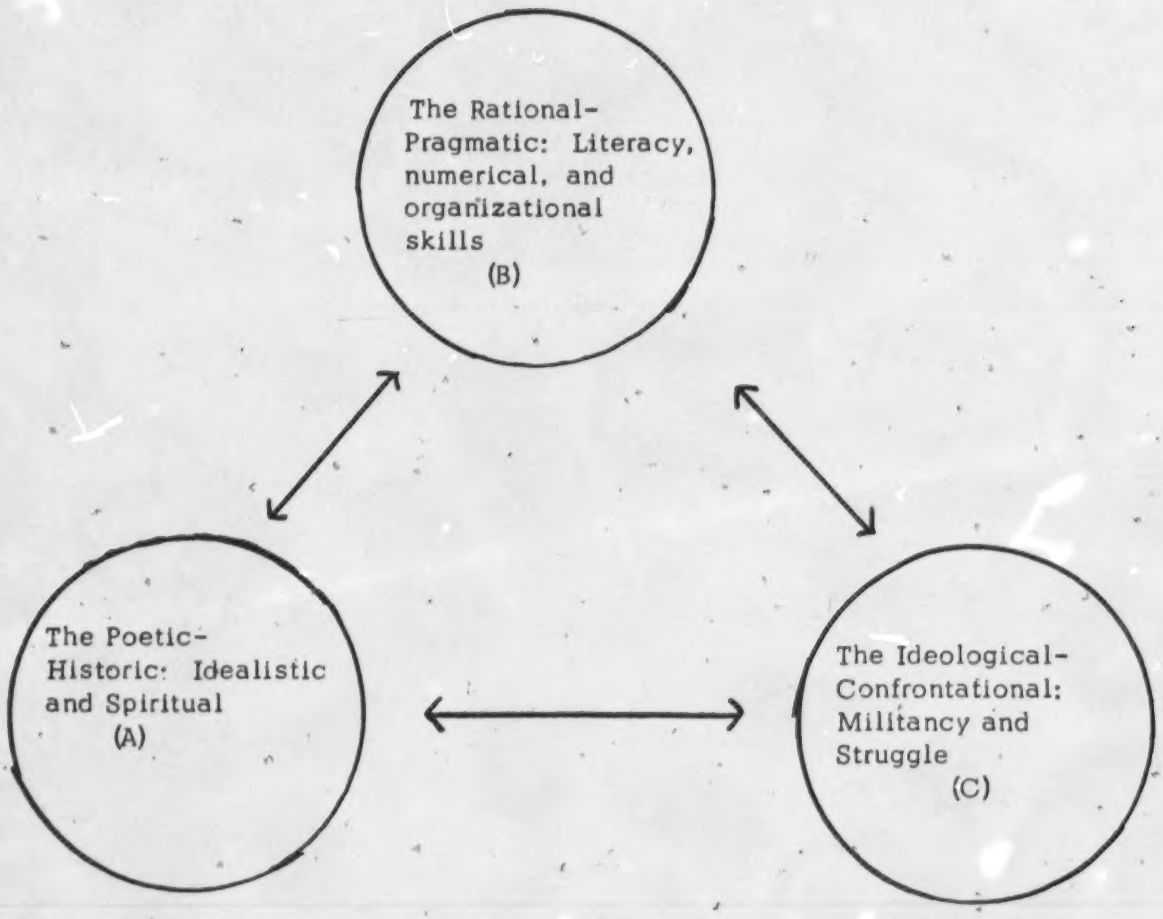
[7] American labor-movement folk colleges are discussed in Richard Altenbaugh and Rolland G. Paulston, "Work People's College: A Finnish Folk High School in the American Labor College Movement," Pedagogica Europea (European Journal of Educational History), forthcoming, 1979.

FIGURE 2

FOLK COLLECE PEDAGOGICAL ORIENTATIONS



noted, however, have predominated at one time or another during the history of movement folk colleges and can easily be identified in many of the case studies. While this figure is only suggestive, it does help to see major pedagogical orientations, and in a gross way to correlate these orientations with the overall degree of movement-education effectiveness suggested in Figure 1. Clearly, the poetic-historic orientation has predominated where the Grundtvigian influence was strong, as in the Danish and Norwegian folk high school serving rural movements. While a number of Danish disciples of Grundtvig sought to develop folk high schools with this orientation in the United States, the Danish-American students sought a Type B educational experience. And when the Grundtvigian folk colleges could not meet these expectations, the new public high schools of rural America could and did.[8]

Even in Denmark, Type B orientations predominated in the Cooperative and Labor Movement folk high schools. This has also long been the case in Sweden where the rational-pragmatic orientation has shaped nearly all

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[8]See Carl Glover, "Talking with Johannes Knudsen," Option, Newsletter of the Folk College Association in America, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Winter 1978), pp. 3-5. Knudsen attended Danish folk high schools at Nysted, Nebraska, and Tyler, Minnesota, while his father ministered and directed the schools. He observes, "Knowledge was not unimportant, but knowledge was conveyed for a purpose. The intent was not to attain diplomas or to educate for a trade or profession but to educate for living. The human spirit was to be lifted.... The teaching method was inspirational, namely the personal word of the oral communication and the subject matter was usually history and literature. Singing was a liberating and gratifying way of expression."

He cites four reasons for the disappearance of these folk schools during the "roaring twenties:" (1) Third-generation Danish Americans regarded the folk schools as an ethnic institution, not up to date with modern America; (2) Immigration stopped with World War I, drying up the main source of new students; (3) The twenties saw more secondary schools available for the first time to Danish-American communities; and (4) The Danish folk-school system was not flexible enough to adjust: "Most of the facilities were so primitive that they no longer appealed to young people."

FHS education. Disdaining both Grundtvigian spirituality and ideological conflict, the Swedish folk-movement educational programs have been highly successful in preparing for the peaceful shift after 1932 from elitism to egalitarianism in Swedish national life. While this shift is still underway in, for example, recent U68 efforts to egalitarianize the recalcitrant universities, the movement folk-education programs now play far less important roles than they did up to and immediately after World War II. Today through rational discourse, compromise, and interest-group bargaining, the political power of folk movements works through national institutions and not, as earlier, solely through folk institutions. As the folk movements have largely realized their dreams for societies directed to human welfare, or welfare states, folk-movement folk high schools have become part of the new more egalitarian status quo. And as this occurs, their pedagogical activities become ever more rational-pragmatic in orientation. Today, as a branch of formal educational systems, most Scandinavian folk high schools are unique only for their residential settings and lack of emphasis on formal examinations and grades.

In contrast to societies today where folk-movement goals are dominant, we might take note of an earlier example of Type C pedagogy in a poem from a major Swedish folk high school journal in 1919. This was a time of intense social-class confrontation between the labor movement and a conservative government over growing popular demands for increased political participation. Writing in the meter of Viking verse, the poet seeks to encourage youthful dedication to a struggle for social justice, to a solidarity with the oppressed, a theme always present to some degree in social-movement education.[9]

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[9] By John Svenson-Ed., Studiekamraten, No. 23-24 (1919), p. 5. Translated by Christina Bratt Paulston. For another good example of the use of poetry to articulate the bind and to help build the dream, see Florence Howe, "Mississippi Freedom Schools: The Politics of Education," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 35 (Spring 1965), pp. 114-160.

Glad in heart
over the sea
the viking young
went to fight
through the world
harsh and wide
sought to reach
the happy land
the blue dream

Black skies
the storm's squalls
waken and threaten with
danger's plight
to put out
firesoul's flame

But the young
looked for danger
glad to cast
spear against the crowd
glad to fight
glad to help
those who suffer

Then the cold
black Time's
waves beat...
brave fighter
lay there fettered
beaten bloody

Yes, beaten
but not crushed
soon in the day
free, freed
risen from the dust
stormhappy fighter
heads for the light

You young
who would grow
learn life's heavy
hard lesson

Love, suffer
hate, fight
never dampen
Truth's fire
Fight through
hard fates
to reach
the happy land
the blue dream

In Sweden today, this type of poem would be an embarrassment to teachers and students in the labor movement's folk high schools. It would have meaning only among Lapp students struggling against overwhelming odds to build their movement, their own schools, and to secure their dream of ethnic survival.

Other examples of a combination of the poetic-historic and ideological-confrontational orientation can be found in Scandinavian FHS educational programs of the Swedish Same or Lapp movement and in the Swede-Finn movement, especially between the First and Second World Wars. In the first case, pedagogical effectiveness has been greatly restricted by the movement's powerlessness. The Swede-Finns, in contrast, with considerable economic and political power used A and C orientations to mobilize ethnic identity, articulate the structural bind, and with great effect to legitimize movement goals.

In American labor colleges during the same period, a small, radical minority within the labor movement used Type C education to help in the struggle for industrial unions and a socialist society. Here educational contributions had some limited impact in local organizing efforts and strikes. The sharp and repressive reaction from established authority, the Klan, the American Legion, and even from the conservative union leadership, however, meant that these few gains served essentially to provoke a highly successful reactionary backlash. By World War II, Commonwealth, Brookwood, and the vast majority of labor colleges had closed or been closed. Only Highlander Folk High School in Tennessee continued to provide democratic, social change-oriented educational programs within the American labor movement. Even these limited educational efforts ended in the period of post-World War II

reaction when the AFL-CIO industrial unions, now as part of the establishment, directed their educational efforts and resources instead to new anti-Communist education programs for third-world workers at Front Royal, Virginia.[10]

Folk College Contributions: Key Factors

What can we conclude on the basis of the dases discussed here as to the conditions that seem to be correlated with the relative success or failure of folk high schools in social and ethnic movements? And how, one might inquire, can such generalizations be useful in assessing possibilities for movement-education contributions to movements only now forming or to others yet unknown?

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[10] For an excellent study of subsequent U. S. attempts to mobilize poor, largely unemployed Americans, but without residential movement education programs, see Francis Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail. (New York: Pantheon, 1977). 387 p.; and Nick Kotz and Mary Lynn Kotz, A Passion for Equality: George Wiley and the Movement. (New York: Norton, 1977). 384 p. Wiley, a Black who organized the National Welfare Rights Organization in the 1960's, concluded that a strategy of confrontation failed because minority movements can succeed only if the majority is passive or sympathetic. He concluded before his death by drowning in 1973 and with his adoption of a new strategy, a Movement for Economic Justice, that only such a broad-based movement aimed at the economic interests of a majority of Americans will ever succeed in bringing about the egalitarian changes he desired. See also Robert Lekachman's review, "A Piece of the Action is not Enough," Social Policy (November/December 1977), pp. 127-132. E. J. Hobsbaum, in his article, "Should the Poor Organize?" New York Review of Books, Vol. 25, No. 4 (March 23, 1978), pp. 44-49, argues instead that the disorganized non-working poor gain most by disruption, by refusing "to play the game," and relying on the political reverberations to generate concessions from above. In contrast, mass movements of the folk, or working poor, as the Scandinavian cases demonstrate, have gained more through organization, education, avoidance of militancy, and pursuit of reformist goals seeking greater economic and political participation and eventual political dominance.

Simply put, the most effective movement-education programs have been found in either mass reformist movements successfully seeking to extend democratic participation and secure folk political dominance--as in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; or in elite movements seeking to defend traditional rights--as with the Swede-Finns. When minority movements representing groups of relatively small size and little power seek to alter the status quo in ways detrimental to the perceived interests of the majority, their educational programs can rarely implant new values and behaviors that can be rewarded over time either in or out of the movement context. In contrast, new skills, critical awareness, and feelings of solidarity with the large majoritarian Scandinavian folk movements could be used to effect within the supportive folk institutions and the folk sector of society--i.e., in the folk high schools, in cooperatives, and in other ongoing folk-dominated organizations and institutions.

Drawing on Schermerhorn's paradigm of social groups, we can illustrate in Figure 3 how the key characteristics of size and power can be used to classify social and ethnic movements and thus indicate movement potential for mounting sustained educational programs with some promise of helping to accomplish movement objectives--i.e., to ease the bind, to realize the dream.[11]

When members of the large Scandinavian folk movements received the vote and secured political power after World War I, the movements they supported changed from Type C subordinate mass movements to Type A dominant majority movements. This would seem to be the most potentially

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[11] R. A. Schermerhorn, Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework for Theory and Research. (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 13.

FIGURE 3

A PARADIGM OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

	Size	Power	
Dominant Movements			
Type A	+	+	= Majority movement (i. e., Scand. folk movements with the franchise)
Type B	-	+	= Elite Movement (i. e., Swede-Finns)
Subordinate Movements			
Type C	+	-	= Mass movement (i. e., Scand. Folk Movements before the franchise)
Type D	-	-	= Minority Movements (i. e., Ethnic movements, U. S. labor college movement, et al)

fruitful setting for movement folk high school programs. Conversely, subordinate minority movements have used folk college and related education programs to greatest effect in providing "safe places" in hostile environments where conflicting definitions of the problem and ideologies of struggle can be elaborated and applied in enclave settings.

In Figure 4 below, we can see something of how the rise of the folk high school movement in Scandinavia paralleled and supported the movement towards folk political dominance. In the United States, this struggle took place largely in the Midwest as a minority populist movement sought greater economic justice, while formal schools worked overtime to acculturate America's newly arrived immigrant "folk."[12]

In most developing countries. central authority will rarely tolerate even reformist social and ethnic movements. And even when it does, these efforts to mobilize poor people most often lack leadership, trust, and traditions of cooperation, conditions that make collective change efforts from below difficul[illegible] best.[13]

Kulich [illegible]sts that the Scandinavian feat of using folk colleges in democratic movements will not be duplicated elsewhere, and the evidence

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[12]While the U. S. Populist Movement and the Scandinavian folk movements brought together farmers and workers seeking fundamental restructuring of finance capitalism and the banking systems, and both sought the dream of cooperative commonwealth in movement education, mass encampments, et al., the American populists remained for the most part agrarian radicals and never successfully joined forced with the U. S. labor movement to take political power as was the case in the Scandinavian folk movements. In this regard, see Lawrence Goodwyn's study, Democratic Promise: The Populist Movement in America. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1976), 718 p.

[13]But not altogether impossible. For attempts to support local "grass roots" projects seeking to build cooperatives, unions, medical facilities, etc., with contributions from Type B non-formal education programs, see Eugene J. Meehan, In Partnership with People: An Alternative Development Strategy. (Washington, D. C.: Inter-American Foundation, 1979). 178 p.

FIGURE 4

A COMPARISON OF RESIDENTIAL FOLK COLLEGES IN SCANDINAVIA AND THE UNITED STATES[1]

Events, Schools, Enrollments	Denmark	Norway	Sweden	Finland	United States[2]
EVENTS--DATES:					
First presentation of FHS idea	1832	1837	1867	1861	1876
Founding of first FHS	1844	1864	1868	1889	1878
First state grants	1851	1875	1872	1905	None
First second-year course	1878	1898	1869	1908	(?)
First school of "Christian" emphasis	1887	1893	1917	1907	1894
First specialized school	1891	1939	1906	1924	1903
Year of peak enrollment, first quarter 20th Century	1920-21	1920-21	1921-22	1920-21(?)	1913-14
NUMBER OF FOLK HIGH SCHOOLS:					
In 1890	68	12	25	5	5
According to latest data	70	74[3]	110	82	None
ENROLLMENTS:					
Peak enrollment, first quarter 20th Century	7,006	2,003	3,442	2,250	1,650 est.
Peak enrollment, latest data	8,600	5,881[3]	11,957	5,898	None
POPULATION DATA (Latest Data):[4]					
Total	5,059,000	4,017,200	8,208,400	4,923,000	215,135,000
Percent rural (1970)	22.9%	67.9%	27.2%	61.6%	30.1%

[1] Includes all types, i.e., municipal and movement FHS.

[2] Includes only Danish-American folk high schools.

[3] Includes folk high schools, county schools, and youth schools.

[4] Britannica Book of the Year, 1977, p. 245. See also D. G. Larson, A Comparison of the Spread of the Folk High School Idea in Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, and the United States. Doctoral Dissertation, Indiana University, Bloomington, June 1970. p. 202.

would seem to support this view.[14] Where Davis has argued for the creation of minority folk colleges to defend ethnic-group interests in efforts to secure a more humanistic and pluralistic society, Kulich contends that the folk high schools' value today is primarily as a model, or prototype, of liberal residential adult education for Western industrial nations.[15]

But does the folk-college experience as reviewed here offer more than just another model for continuing adult education? I believe it does. In one regard, it specifies the conditions under which movement folk colleges have been founded and used with varying effectiveness. With the constraints on U. S. educational-reform efforts in formal schools during the past several decades, great disillusionment has set in concerning the extent to which education can lead, or even contribute, to attempts to change inequitable social structures. Critics on the right and left both reject the possibility of meaningful educational reform, let alone the possibility of educational reforms supporting and feeding into larger social-change efforts.[16]

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[14] See Jindra Kulich, "The Danish Folk High School: Can It Be Transplanted? The Success and Failure of the Danish Folk High School at Home and Abroad." International Review of Education, Vol. 10, No. 4 (1964), pp. 417-428.

[15] David C. Davis. The Danish Folk High School: An Experiment in Humanistic Education. Doctoral Dissertation, United States International University, San Diego, 1969.

[16] M. Carnoy, for example, while rejecting the possibility of fundamental educational reform without an overthrow of the capitalist system, nevertheless proposes an "encroachment strategy" where teachers, students, and parents organize for control over the management of schools. This strategy views education as synonymous with schooling--i. e., it ignores all possibilities or experiences with alternative non-formal education in social movements--as in labor colleges, or in ethnic movements--as with the effective Voter Registration NFE Program. It also ignores the need to buttress any change strategy with historical or empirical case evidence bearing on the logic and feasibility of the course proposed. Without supporting evidence, his education-based strategy to encroach on capitalism becomes an exercise in exhortation with little nomothetic or practical utility. See Martin Carnoy and Henry Levin, The Limits of Educational Reform. (New York: McKay, 1976), pp. 269-288.

We have attempted to demonstrate that if one only looks to the formal schools, the critics are by and large correct. The evidence is compelling that formal schools will always work to reproduce and legitimize whatever society is in control. But we need not necessarily stop there. For the evidence also demonstrates that when non-formal educational programs are created and controlled by large groups seeking incremental social change, this type of autonomous change-oriented education can help to facilitate, under certain albeit limiting conditions, a wide variety of individual and structural change.

Clearly, the "fighting" folk-college non-formal education variant is highly circumscribed in where it can operate; it is also limited by the ability of movement leaders and followers to set realistic goals, to secure resources, and to mount efforts to reduce the bind without provoking repression. But it is also clear that formal schools because they cannot deviate far from the national ideology or value "consensus" offer only little hope as points of entry for those who would make fundamental shifts towards more humanitarian and democratic societies.

While the "fighting" folk schools may offer an underdog strategy of sorts for a non-formal educational approach to incremental social change, they are perhaps equally valuable as an alternative type of educational setting, as an example of what Victor Turner calls "anti-structure," i.e., a positive, generative center that stands in contrast to social "structure."[17] Here structure is viewed as a more or less distinctive arrangement of mutually dependent institutions and the institutional organization of social positions and/or actors--as in formal schools. Anti-structure does not imply a radical negativity, but, rather, the properties of liminality and communitas.

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[17] V. Turner, Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1974).

Liminality occurs "in the middle phase of the rites of passage that mark changes in an individual's or a group's social status and/or cultural and psychological state."[18] Communitas is the non-structured relationship shared by members of the group undergoing transition. Turner notes that the "mystical rehtoric" associated with anti-structure is, as with Grundtvig's work, and folk-college poems and manifestos, very often characteristic of movements of egalitarian, popular protest during liminal periods of history when social, economic, and intellectual structures showing great consistency and stability over long periods of time begin to break up and become objects of questioning both in structural and anti-structural terms.[19]

Movement folk high schools in the past and present when in opposition to existing structures, and in their struggles for social renewal, can be viewed as examples of Turner's term. Where they have become successful and institutionalized--as in much of Scandinavia today--they become part of the structural obstacle that new groups seeking to realize other dreams must oppose with new educational strategies as anti-structure consistent with their perceptions of structural binds and social justice. If a society will tolerate the continual dialectic of reformist social movements and social-movement education in opposition to existing structures and education, you will have the opportunities for realization of man as both a structural and an anti-structural entity, who conserves through structure and grows through anti-structure.[20]

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[18] Ibid., p. 273.

[19] Ibid., p. 292.

[20] Ibid., p. 298.